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# Social Questions

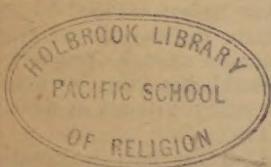
## BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, a membership organization which seeks to deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solution; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges.

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Number 1



## The Offensive Against Freedom

HARRY F. WARD \*

(Kansas City Conference Address)

The people of the United States are now facing the greatest attack on their civil rights that their history records. For the first time there is a complete mobilization of all anti-democratic forces. All the dark forces that threaten to block the road into the future are now united—greed and the lust for power, ignorance and fear in high places and in low. The attack is launched on every possible front—political, economic, cultural, religious. Its final objectives are the destruction of the foundations of the democratic way of life.

All the old attacks on freedom of speech and assembly that had died down under the New Deal are now renewed with increased vigor. Meetings are being broken up by force and violence, sometimes with police aiding and abetting because anti-communist propaganda and the Christian Front has infected them with its poison. The leaders of the mob are usually veterans who have been told by persons unknown that the meeting is "communist" or those who have been told by the Un-American Committee that the speaker—Paul Robeson, for example—is a communist.

For many years most of the cases the Civil Liberties Union had to defend concerned the rights of labor to organize, to hold meetings, peacefully picket, and be protected from organized violence. Under the New Deal those rights were guaranteed. Now we have a law which does what no democratic nation has ever attempted. It denies the right of both employer and worker to choose the form of collective bargaining they prefer. It denies the worker the right to have representatives of their own choosing, a right the churches have stood for through over thirty years of industrial strife. It also tries to do something no nation in Europe would dare and Great Britain would not even think of, that is, deny labor the right of political expression and action.

Minority groups, both racial and political, are feeling the full force of the anti-democratic offensive. Discrimination against Negroes, abating in the South under the influence of the rising generation, is increasing in the North. The announced determination of Southern diehards to "put the d——d n——r back in his place" after the war has occasioned new lynchings and the killing of Negro veterans by the police, also repeated in the North. The poison of anti-semitism now appears in communities where no Jews live and, like a plague, the defamation of synagogues and graveyards, the beating up of Jewish children and youth has spread from coast to coast. Remarks of Rankin and his allies on the floor of the House and in the Un-American committee room, questions asked of public employees by investigators, the repeating by police of the slogans yelled by leaders of the mobs

trying to break up meetings, all reveal the extent to which the disease of anti-semitism has infected our government.

The foreign born are also victims of the hysteria which surpasses anything in our history except that behind the Salem witch hunts. Over two hundred of these unfortunates, most of whom have lived here for scores of years and raised their families in peace, some of them having fought for what they considered their country, are now facing deportation. In every case political opinions or associations, or organized labor actions, figure in the proceedings. Some are technically not citizens through ignorance or carelessness; others have been and are being prevented from turning the actual into the legal. Some, if deported, will go to their death at fascist hands.

The first objective of the anti-democratic offensive among minority political groupings is of course the Communist Party. Since direct outlawry is clearly unconstitutional the tactic is to reach the same end by devious means. Already in some states the Party is ruled off the ballot by judicial interpretation of the phrase "overthrow of the government by force and violence." It is by executive interpretation of the phrase that communists are excluded from the country. So far the Supreme Court has dodged the question of whether communists come under the incendiary phrase. Before long it will have to make the decision. Then it will face the fact that the constitution of the party has for some years made advocacy of overthrow of the government by force or violence, let alone participation in any violent act against the government, an offense punishable by immediate expulsion, proclaiming that the party relies upon the process of democracy for achieving its objectives.

Also the Court will have to face the more important fact that no member of the Party has ever been prosecuted for any "overt act" against the government. There is plenty of law to cover such acts and also incitement to them; there is also abundance of willingness to use that law. It is because the witch hunters have no facts on which to base their hysterical charges that they proceed outside the law they cannot use and against the constitution they cannot invoke.

Besides intensifying old issues in the struggle for civil rights the anti-democratic offensive has raised two new issues. One is the loyalty test ordered by the President and now by some state legislatures, governors and local government bodies. Again there was no justifying danger, except the danger that the Republicans would use the issue in the '48 campaign as they had experimentally and successfully in the '46 elections. Was there one case of a disloyal employee in the Washington government during the war? Before the war Dies turned over to the F.B.I. a list of 1,500 federal

\* Dr. Harry F. Ward is a former President of the American Civil Liberties Union.

employees he branded as subversive. After eight months of investigation two were found against whom proceedings were instituted. During the war every department, and the Civil Service Commission, were screening federal employees, and the President ordered an inter-departmental coordinating committee and the establishment of fair standards. Now he succumbs to the witch hunters cry "Get the Reds out of the government" (meaning New Dealers), names the Un-American Committee as one of the agencies to be consulted, and belatedly orders the right of appeal after his own Civil Rights Commission has chided him for his failure to safeguard his fellow workers against injustice. Too little is again too late for the McCarran amendment to the last Appropriation Bill specifies that State, Army and Navy Departments and the Atomic Energy Commission are exempt from any obligation to grant a discharged employee a hearing.

The other new issue raised by the anti-democratic offensive is that of thought control. By its tactic of slander and libel under congressional immunity, by creating economic fear, the Unamerican Committee has succeeded in driving a number of liberal commentators off the air and securing business censorship of the screen. This limitation of what the people hear and see is now extending, in addition to the restrictions already imposed by the big business press, to what they may read. Publishers are refusing "controversial" manuscripts. The inhibiting effect of all this upon writers and speakers is beyond measurement. What it all adds up to is that just as the food on the tables of most of our voters grows less so their mental diet is increasingly restricted to NAM economic and bipartisan reactionary politics.

This limitation of thought food is extending to children and youth. Several states are now screening teachers and text books from university to elementary school; also legislating American Youth for Democracy off the campus. Academic freedom used to be the right of the professor to teach what he believed to be the truth. It was also the right of the student to hear. Now it is also his right to read, to discuss, to know all sides of every question and make his own choices. If the most ignorant and vicious section of our political life is to control what our children and youth hear and read the result will be a nation of "Heil Hitlers."

What is now at stake is not merely the rights of individuals and organizations. It is the existence of democracy itself. The attempt of Congress to carry on an Inquisition into political opinions and economic beliefs violates the secrecy of the ballot, without which there can be no free choice between reaction and progress. When the President gave the attorney general absolute power to name and keep secret the list of organizations in which membership, or for which sympathy, constituted ground for dismissing a federal employee, he was laying one of the corner stones of a police state.

The witch hunters are laying another such corner stone in their denial of the right of opposition. The dossier of "subversive" activities of the people summoned from Hollywood that was given to the press lists support of practically every piece of social welfare legislation and progressive cause in the last ten years. In one case the State Department "expert" defined communism as anti-fascism. Dies used to continually equate capitalism with Americanism. The other day his pupil and protege, now chief investigator for the Unamerican Committee, said to a witness: "Don't you know the communists want to overthrow capitalism?" Opposition to policies that take bread and milk out of the mouths of growing children is now "subversive." Thus the struggle for economic change is being pushed into the area of force and violence, not by communists but by those who use anti-communism as the smokescreen for their own attack upon the basic rights of the people.

No group in opposition to any of the policies of the bipartisan coalition, which at present takes the place of a Nazi or fascist party, is exempt from attack. Americans for Democratic Action which is strongly anti-communist has been proclaimed "subversive." Those preachers who are

against war on principle are certainly in line for suppression. Already opposition to the preventive war against the Soviet Union is being denounced as "treasonable" because "appeasement gives the Russians time to prepare their attack against us."

The anti-democratic offensive is also destroying the Anglo-Saxon system of justice, which with the Bill of Rights makes the foundations of our democracy. The right of the accused to know the charges and the evidence against him, to face his accusers in open court, be judged by his peers, and to be able to appeal to an unbiased court of last resort, all won by centuries of bitter struggle, is now denied to thousands of federal employees. That dismissal is not conviction of crime is no justification. The penalty in loss of reputation and opportunity for livelihood is more severe than that for some crimes.

The procedure of the witch hunters is both extra-judicial and anti-judicial. It uses the principle of guilt by association which is eliminated from our law unless association involves participation in or responsibility for any illegal acts. It reverses the principle that the accused must be presumed innocent until guilt is proved. It establishes guilt by name calling which proclaims the accused guilty without evidence. This is intellectual and moral lynch law.

There is still another way in which the anti-democratic offensive is undermining our democratic base. It is breaking through the division of powers between the legislative, the judicial, and the executive on which our system rests. In establishing an Inquisition Congress has usurped the judicial function. It has created crimes not listed in the criminal code under the vague terms "subversive" and "unamerican." It has found people guilty without due process of law. It has administered punishment in the form of loss of reputation and livelihood. Rankin truly described the committee as "vigilante." The American free community began with the substitution of law and order for vigilante justice. It will end if vigilante procedure is now to be substituted for due process of law.

Add together the attacks upon the Bill of Rights, Anglo-Saxon justice and our system of the division of governmental powers and they constitute an attempt to destroy those human rights on the basis of which we declared our independence from Great Britain and set up a new light of liberty and a new hope for justice in the earth. What opportunity for the pursuit of happiness will those have (or their children) who have been branded as disloyal with no opportunity to disprove the charge? What liberty is left to those who dare not say or write what they think and believe because the hysteria of the community has been aroused against all who stand for change? What is the right to life itself worth to those who dare not proclaim their political and economic beliefs for fear it will mean loss of livelihood and all that entails for their children? To those who are denied the right of opposition to policies which lead to the war that will involve mass destruction as never before?

Seen in historic perspective the present offensive against all civil and human rights means the attempt of anti-democratic reaction (fascism) to come to power in the American way. In the internal struggle of reaction against democratic progress this is our Stalingrad. And it is not enough to hold out. The counter-offensive has to be launched. It is axiomatic that to be successful it must include all who are menaced by the common enemy. Those who will not sit down in a common council of strategy with communists or those they call "fellow travellers" can no more win this struggle than they could have won the war. Where the enemy has been stopped recently, in New Jersey, in Detroit, in Los Angeles, it has been done by inclusive mobilization of all who were willing to oppose anti-democratic reaction.

The same condition is required for the engagements that need to be won nationally. For both of these maximum public pressure is needed. The pressing objectives to be taken are to get the anti-lynching law out of committee and

(Continued on page 16)

# Towards a Democratic Coalition in China

GENERAL FENG YU-HSIANG \*

To comment on the situation in China today, I would like to mention three words, all begun with the letter "c"—chaos, coalition and cooperation. Chaos depicts the present condition under the present regime in China. Coalition government is the way out of the present chaos. And cooperation is what we hope for from American friends.

To consider the present government as predominately a Christian one, fighting a non-Christian communist party, is entirely wrong. That there are a few professed Christians in the present government does not mean that convinced Christians as a whole are not against it. The policies and actions of the present government are far from being Christian. "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father Who is in heaven." (Matt. 7:21.)

The main features of the chaos under the present regime are corruption and civil war.

Because of the absolute power the present government has and because of its struggle to maintain that absolute power, it is becoming more and more oppressive and corrupt. The amassing of great wealth on the part of leading government officials is the good evidence of this corruption. While diplomats of the present government are negotiating with foreign nations for loans to help it, the openly secret deposits in foreign banks of the high officials are daily increasing. Due to mismanagement, very often welfare funds and donations given by well-meaning and kind-hearted western friends go for the benefit of racketeers and bureaucrats rather than for the real benefit of the poor for whom they are originally intended.

This corruption is maintained by a gestapo, called the "special service corps." These people are responsible for the ruthless killing of young people, the disappearance of many liberal thinkers, the functioning of concentration camps, the assassination of many progressive leaders, and a number of mob molestations.

More than that. The present government in China has waged the civil war in order to continue its corrupt, incompetent and bureaucratic rule by force. My people, after they have suffered to an immeasurably large extent during the Defensive War, cannot bear any longer the damage of the civil strife and are compelled to arise against the tax in kind, reenrolling by impressment, and other cruel policies.

As for the coalition government, I want first of all to make clear that the Nationalist Party under the present feudal dictatorship has become quite different from that as started by the founder, as shown in its principles, and as supported by its members. Under the ruling fascistic reactionary elements, the Party is not a well-integrated, homogeneous group. What the people of China are against is not the Nationalist Party as a whole, but its reactionary elements. Incidentally, as to the means of achieving peace and democracy in China there is very little difference among the liberal elements in the Nationalist Party, the Democratic League and even the Chinese Communist Party. So it is very easy for the liberal elements in these three groups to get together, and form a coalition government.

Personally, I have helped to put the Party into power as a military man and I have nominally been a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Nationalist Party. For twenty years, as a Christian I have devoted myself to trying to persuade the reactionary elements to do something good for my people but now I am fully convinced that it is very difficult to combine Christianity with the present order

of things in such a government. The value of human beings has been entirely ignored. The fundamental freedoms of the individual are being denied.

Peace and democracy are what Dr. Sun Yat-sen worked for, what I have worked for and what the people of China want today. From the point of view of the Christian Church, peace and democracy are also essential. Without them the church finds it very hard to start and extend its work of various kinds. Many people who feel that they have been called to do different kinds of Christian work have found that they cannot do so due to unsettled conditions and lack of fundamental guarantees of democracy. But if peace and democracy are achieved, the opportunities for the Christian church to work in all areas of life and all areas of China are very great, for the Church's contribution to China and to the Chinese people has been recognized by all.

Friends in the United States, especially Christian friends, can facilitate greatly our struggle for democracy by giving us cooperation. To sympathize and to support our struggle to build a peaceful, democratic and independent China is the concrete expression of our common brotherhood in our common Lord Jesus Christ.

In a recent issue of *Life*, it was advocated that the U. S. extend \$1,350,000,000 to the present Chinese government to continue the civil war. I am afraid this plan, if carried out, would make America very unpopular in China. Further assistance in any form to the present government would mean the continuation of civil war and thus the continuation of the suffering of the people.

The present government of China has lost its prestige among the Chinese people. The total amount of help given by the U. S. A. to the present government has amounted to about U. S. \$4,000,000,000. If that amount has not bolstered the present government what can \$1,350,000,000 do? The unfeasibility of having some American General help rule China is too apparent to deserve explanation.

Peace and democracy are the watchwords of present sentiment against the present dictatorship in China. The Chinese people will consider good friends only those who help us to further such a cause.

Jesus said, "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called sons of God." You can help peace by stopping support to the corrupt, militaristic, and civil-war-waging government in China and by assisting us to form a democratic coalition government. Then, and only then, can we become peacemakers.

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There is a story in Boston that in the palmy days of the twenties a Chicago banking house asked the Boston investment firm of Lee, Higginson and Company for a letter of recommendation about a young Bostonian they were considering employing. Lee, Higginson could not say enough for the young man. His father, they wrote, was a Cabot, his mother a Lowell; further back his background was a happy blend of Saltonstalls, Appletons, Peabodys, and others of Boston's first families. The recommendation was given without hesitation.

Several days later came a curt acknowledgement from Chicago. Lee, Higginson was thanked for its trouble. Unfortunately, however, the material supplied on the young man was not exactly of the type the Chicago firm was seeking. "We were not," their letter declared, "contemplating using Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ for breeding purposes."

—From "The Proper Bostonians"  
by Cleveland Amory

\* General Feng Yu-hsiang is a Chinese Christian, a member of the Central Political Committee of the ruling Kuomintang, and a disciple of the late Sun Yat Sen's. He is "on leave" from his military duties to study flood control projects in the U. S. He is a Methodist.

# Rural Social Action

## Farming Conditions—Folklore or Fact?

A few months ago when Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Brannon testified before a Congressional Committee concerning the deplorable conditions of farm housing, the righteous indignation of corn belt legislators made fine copy for the sniping press—just another instance of bureaucratic nuddleheadedness, a disgraceful spectacle of a power-hungry official disgracing the American way of life in order that he might get more money for his department.

But housing for the majority of people in rural America is disgraceful. It is hard to find an authoritative survey, but without question the majority of those living in farm areas at the beginning of 1948 have inadequate housing. Sanitation is elementary, a survey in Ohio shortly before the war showed that 17% of the farm dwellings did not have even the most elementary of sanitary facilities. Ohio is far above other regions that must list much larger segments of their population as a part of the disadvantaged groups in rural America.

## Rural Mental Health Situation

The romanticists (goodness knows we need some romantics around) love to become eloquent about all the joys and fullness of living out in the country. There is a mite of truth in what they say, but there is a lot of nostalgic sediment mixed up with the poetry.

Health facilities are uniformly in bad condition in rural United States. Mental health is serious. To quote an Ohio survey of a rural and semi-rural area (Miami County) which was made since the war: Dr. A. R. Mangus of Ohio State University states that 10% of the men of ages 18-37 had personality disorders which were so serious as to debar them for military service. During the war this group made up 6.3% of all the men examined in the county and 23.6 of the rejects. Many others who were inducted into military service were later discharged because of emotional breakdown.

One in every five school children in Miami County was poorly adjusted with the boys showing a greater percentage of mental health cases than the girls. During one year of the study 4% of the children of juvenile court age showed up in the County Juvenile Court—their behavior stemming from insecurity, inner conflicts, frustrations.

From 1940-1945, 207 persons were committed to state institutions for mental illness. During the same period 312 were indicted for criminal offenses. Mangus states that about one in 25 persons may well expect to be sent to some such institution in his lifetime.

432 divorce suits were filed in 1946 as compared with 140 in 1940. During the six year period from 1940-1946, 1,522 divorce suits were filed and nearly 1,000 marriages terminated.

Evidently in the competitive, machine dominated culture of our day the basic needs, adequacy and security, are not being met. The romanticist is right in saying that the "simple" life is better for us. Just getting out in the country evidently does not, however, eliminate the complex conflicts of this industrial civilization.

## Children as Farm Workers

The war set back many years the struggle to protect children from exploitative labor. It never did make much headway and today more children are employed in agriculture than in all non-agricultural occupations combined. This does not seem to have caused much concern; it still being widely believed that the children work with their parents in clean and wholesome surroundings. Aside from the fact that for many the only clean aspect of their lives is the air, the facts of farm life show that the majority of child laborers are seasonal hands who work in gangs or persons who are

not relatives and often are doing work far beyond their strength.

(Incidentally, on this clean air business—just how long is it going to take the internal combustion machines of this age to make even the air toxic? The exhaust from every car, every stationary gas engine, etc., spits out minute specks of lead. Lead is poisonous to human life. If the atom bomb does not get us, lead poisoning will!)

## Watch Conservation Legislation

What Stuart Chase called the most powerful lobby in Washington, that of the American Farm Bureau Federation, will be in operation during the next session of Congress with the aim of destroying the Soil Conservation Service and placing it under the FB dominated Agricultural Extension Service. The plans are incorporated in HR 4150, HR 4151, and S 1621. The first two were introduced by Cooley of North Carolina (Dem) and Hill of Colorado (Rep). The Senate proposal is sponsored jointly by Senators Reed of Kansas (Rep) and Steward of Tennessee (Dem). The bills are identical and, as indicated by the sponsors, the drive is to be bipartisan.

If these bills should become law, they would effectively destroy the present Soil Conservation Service. The plea is that there is much duplication at present and why not put things under one head so that effective consolidation can take place? The regional soil conservation offices would be abolished and all of the functions would be turned over to agencies on the state level. There would be 48 state soil conservation programs. On the plea of consolidation, any kind of integrated national soil program would disappear. Soil conservation programs would tend to become subsidiary programs of the Extension Services, and if there is anything the land needs at this time, it is forthright and purposeful program of conservation, not a side-line issue for an already overworked agency. Then, too, FB members tend to be favored in services as is the present case in some states with FB-Extension tie-up.

The Farmers' Union will oppose the legislation, the Grange probably will because of its hatred of the Extension Service and Farm Bureau integration in some regions. Such religious agencies as the Social Action Committee of the Congressional Christian Churches and the National Catholic Rural Life Conference will also oppose such a reactionary program.

## No Trees!

The Soil Conservation Service has 500,000 acres ready to plant in trees. That would require about 500,000,000 trees and there are none in sight. Another 20,000,000 acres of farmland in the United States should be returned to woodlots. Still no trees! Evidently trees don't have votes so they can get appropriations. . . .

## Big City Moo

A full page colored advertisement, presenting luscious butter cookies, in the December *Better Homes and Gardens* is identified: American Dairy Association "Voice of the Dairy Farmer" 20 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago 6.

ROGER ORTMAYER

Don't forget the fine books in the social, economic, political and religious fields which can be borrowed from the Federation's *Gertrude Rutliff Memorial Library*. We will gladly send on request a list of available books.

## thumbs down on the labor chaplaincy

At the 1946 session of the New York East Conference Bishop Oxnam appointed two members of the conference to act as "Chaplains to Organized Labor". The Rev. Dr. Charles Webber, former Executive Secretary of the Federation, was appointed to work with the CIO, and the Rev. Nelson Cruickshank, also a good Federationist, was commissioned to work in Washington with the American Federation of Labor. To the metropolitan press, these appointments were the only happenings of note in the entire conference. They were widely hailed in the labor papers as presaging a new era of cooperation between the church and the organized workers.

However, as we advised our readers in an editorial entitled "L'Affaire Webber" last year, the new chaplaincies ran into a wall of conservative opposition. Nelson Cruickshank declined to accept the designation, and at the 1947 meeting of the conference resigned from the ministry via "voluntary location". Webber's work with the CIO in Virginia was militantly opposed by Bishop Peele and the white Methodists of the Old Dominion, although the colored brethren down there were on his side. The upshot of the matter was an appeal to the Council of Bishops for a ruling on the legality of such appointments. The Council of Bishops returned a verdict of "no jurisdiction", thereby returning the matter to the Bishop of the New York area. At the 1947 session of the New York East Conference these appointments, which had been so full of promise, were quietly buried with the consent of the corpses. Cruickshank left the ministry altogether to work with the labor movement, and Webber accepted the Supernumerary relationship.

What happened? The opposition to the appointments was just too strong. It gained strength from the present hysterical atmosphere of the country, and is part and parcel of the same general reaction which expressed itself in the Republican victory in the congressional elections, the drive against OPA and price controls, the public support of the Parnell Thomas head-hunters, etc. And, like a great many other "special appointments" in Methodism, the chaplaincies rested on dubious legal grounds. This is a pity, for the Roman Catholic church regularly appoints priests to work with organized labor, and most of the Catholic Bishops have what they call "Diocesan Labor Institutes". The revocation of these first Methodist appointments to work with organized labor is a lamentable reaffirmation of the unshakeable middle-class character of the denomination. The "sociality" of our people is expressed in Kiwanis, Lions, Rotary, Odd Fellows, etc., rather than in the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union or the UAW.

In a sense, all this tends to confirm the rather unflattering judgment made on us by *Life* magazine in its recent "spread" on the Methodist Church. Methodism, said *Life*, is a typical faith of the American mass—cheery, optimistic, strong, superbly organized. But it does not give much comfort to the lonely saint or mystic or rebel. In other words—and the revocation of the "chaplaincies" tends to confirm this—we are not an *avant-garde*; we do not lead. We accept the popular icons, fetishes, taboos, and enthusiasms; we bow before the middle-class totems. We run with the pack, and when the hounds give tongue at sight of the red fox we bay with the rest, feeling a little silly, perhaps, but in good voice.

We have many virtues, says *Life*, but we lack intellectual subtlety. Of course, the planets are going to continue to wheel in their courses whether we have intellectual subtlety or not, and there are other virtues more virtuous than subtlety, intellectual or otherwise. But it is too bad that when intellectual subtlety does rear its head among us—as it did when the chaplaincy appointments were made—it has to be smacked over the head with an oar.

Let us hope that the General Conference of 1948 will clear the way for all our Bishops to make such appointments in the future. It is being memorialized to that end. These memorials deserve the support of every Federationist.

### Jack The Giant Killer



COOPERATIVE MAT SERVICE

HERBLOCK

## Social Questions

### BULLETIN

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REV. ALSON J. SMITH, *Editor*

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for SOCIAL ACTION

(Unofficial)

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# Hatchet Man

MARVIN CAPLAN \*

After a while, the man whom Senator Byrd has called a storm-trooper and a leader of hatchet men, came down the corridor and entered the office in which I sat. It was his office. And while I waited for him, I had been looking it over guardedly, trying to learn from it the sort of person I was going to meet.

As the Virginia lair of what Senator Byrd has called "the most sinister organization in the country," the office was a disappointment. It is the second-floor front room of the CIO offices on 8th St. in Richmond. The only decorations on the pale green walls are a calendar and a framed map of Virginia. The only furniture is a large desk, a water-cooler, enough folding-chairs against the walls to suggest that the room is often used for caucuses, and a couple of standing ashtrays.

Even the desk, which faces away from the three windows overlooking the street, gives you no inkling of the man who sits behind it.

The morning I was there, a lot of newspapers were piled in one corner of it. The rest of the surface was taken up with openly scattered letters and documents and a memo pad. But there was no evidence of personal taste. No bullwhips, or family pictures framed in human skin, no skull ash-trays or morbid souvenirs. The whole aspect of the room was quiet, forthright and business-like.

That too, is part of the first impression of the Reverend Charles C. Webber, who uses this office as Director of the State CIO Political Action Committee. He entered the room with immense briskness, a fit-looking man of 55, carrying a brief-case and wearing a reddish top-coat and a gray fedora, deeply indented on either side and riding squarely on his head, like the hat of a Quaker.

He placed his brief-case on the desk and with a cheerful grin, held out his hand. His mild, clean-shaven face was a little ruddy from the outside cold and his eyes behind his gold-rimmed glasses looked very bright and blue.

The OUTLOOK had been interested, every since Senator Byrd's speeches, in determining exactly how sinister an organization the Political Action Committee was. I had hinted to Mr. Webber over the phone, that in addition to an interview, I hoped he would be able to give me some idea of what his organization was doing in the state.

As soon as he had hung his hat and coat, I was ready to begin. But before I could ask him any questions, he placed a batch of reprints and pamphlets in my hands, all of which, he assured me, would give me an idea of the nature of his work. Then calling in his secretary, he began dictating. The whole thing was done so briskly and good-humoredly, that I had no choice but to sit and examine the papers he had handed me.

Two pamphlets, the "Richmond CIO News Views" and the "PAC Memo," from the National Headquarters, were interesting chiefly as evidence of Webber's current tasks. He's trying, with an energy that almost makes it seem sometimes that he is trying to do it single-handed, to get the Virginia members of the CIO to pay their poll-tax in order to be eligible to vote for pro-labor candidates in the August election.

The "PAC Memo" reported: "Virginia: Poll-tax payments by union members and their families have soared since the passage of vicious anti-labor laws by the State legislature. Rev. Charles C. Webber toured the state urging Virginia labor to answer Governor Tuck and the anti-labor legislature, by qualifying to vote in the summer primaries . . ."

During the past few months, he has appeared before gatherings on an average of two nights out of three, urging people to pay their taxes. Webber isn't interested in the workers alone. He will attempt to turn any citizen who will listen to him, into a qualified voter.

It is this unstinting use of himself in the cause of labor unions, that has made Webber the target of a great deal of rebuke. There is a group in Virginia that feels the Reverend misuses the dignity of his ministerial office. They are opposed to him functioning in his official capacity as Methodist Chaplain to Organized Labor.

He was appointed to this rather dramatic sounding office in May, 1946, after he had served for several years as a field secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (CIO)—an office he had taken under Bishop Francis J. McConnell, then presiding Bishop of Mr. Webber's Annual Conference—the New York East.

In an article he wrote for the Michigan Christian Advocate, a reprint of which was among the papers he had handed me, Mr. Webber defends himself against the "white conservative Methodists" who have been criticizing his appointment ever since it was made by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Bishop McConnell's successor.

"Protests were made to Bishop Oxnam," Mr. Webber wrote, "and to Bishop W. W. Peele (the Bishop of the Virginia and North Carolina white Conferences).

"Bishop Peele took the position that my appointment had proved to be a very great embarrassment to him personally and he appealed both to Bishop Oxnam and to me, to relieve him of this embarrassment."

To this Webber rejoins:

"Bishop Alexander P. Shaw, the Bishop of the Negro Methodist Church in Virginia, on the other hand, has not been embarrassed by my appointment . . . because our CIO unions have both Negro and White workers in their locals and are practicing economic and political brotherhood in their day by day activities. . . . In consequence, our Negro Methodists, agreeing with Bishop Oxnam's statement, 'I see more religion in ending Jim Crow than in preaching abstractions about brotherhood,' and of the opinion that the CIO and some of its leaders are a genuine religious force in the South."

That the CIO is a "religious force" is Mr. Webber's opinion, too. It is a conviction that has sustained him in a strenuous and dangerous life. A life that it is hard to imagine him leading, when you judge him by his non-belligerent and rather scholarly appearance.

At lunch, in a little restaurant around the corner from the CIO office, Mr. Webber told me something of the circumstances that decided him on the ministry.

As a boy in Ann Arbor, Michigan, he had not been more than ordinarily religious. His mother was a Luthern. His father, who worked in the flour mills, was a member of the United Brethren. Young Webber belonged, at different times, to Congregational, Evangelical and Methodist Sunday Schools. He took an active part in Methodist student religious work, but not to the exclusion of other activities.

He loved baseball. He was good enough, about the time he went to college, to play professional with Ithaca, a Michigan team of the Hub League.

At the University of Michigan (where he played varsity baseball) Webber majored in Sociology.

At the end of the first semester of his senior year, a member of the Psychology department persuaded him to take a job testing juvenile delinquents at a reformatory. During the second semester and all through the summer, he admin-

\* Reprinted from the American Jewish Outlook of Virginia.

istered the Binet test to his subjects, a fourth of whom were mental deficient. When he came back to school in the Fall, he was a little depressed by his experience. It seemed to him that social institutions and churches were doing too little for the people under their care.

At this time, Dr. Harry Ward, of Boston Theological Seminary, delivered a lecture at Michigan on the social function of the Church. The idea of the church as a means for social reform wasn't new to Webber. But as Ward presented it, it became a challenge. Determined to work for the improvement of society through the agency of the church, Webber went to Boston after graduating from Michigan in 1915, and studied under Ward.

"I was the first student to go through Boston Theological Seminary without taking Hebrew and Latin," he remarked. And he was the first minister to graduate with the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology in Social Service.

During his stay at the seminary, he married Ardelle F. Perkins, whom he had met at Michigan; and while he was still a student, the two of them did settlement work together in Boston.

It was a partnership that continued during some of Webber's early pastorate. Wherever he accepted a pulpit, he never seemed to be able to stay in it. Somehow, somehow, he was soon involved in the daily life of the community. In Denver, Colorado, where he served his first appointment, Mrs. Webber and he founded the Denver Labor College, a school in which they and a small volunteer faculty taught a variety of subjects to working men and women. He also took an active part in railroad and mining strikes.

At the Pittsburgh Coke Mission, in 1922, where he was in charge of the 25 churches and Sunday schools in Fayette County, he and Mrs. Webber organized night classes for miners, to which the companies objected. A company lawyer claimed the miners were becoming too intelligent.

In 1923, as pastor of the New York Church of All Nations, he opened his church to the paper box workers and for the five months they were on strike, he let them use a large room in the church for their strike meetings as well as turning the church kitchen and dining room into a soup kitchen.

It was during his next appointment, when he was Assistant Director of Field Work and a faculty member of Union Theological Seminary in New York, that Webber first became associated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and came to Virginia as one of their organizers.

A former pupil of his at the Seminary, Franz Daniels, who was already with Amalgamated, suggested in June 1935, that Webber take the job. With a free summer ahead of him, Webber came down to Richmond to help organize the Friedman-Harry Marks clothing factory.

It was a summer, Webber remembers, in which "Brother Potofsky (Jacob Potofsky, Sidney Hillman's successor as head of the ACWA) and I preached the 'Gospel of Trade Unionism' to the workers." When he returned to the Seminary for the Fall term, the controversy between the workers and the company was in the process of going through the courts.

Two years later, when he was in Portland, Oregon, as Executive Field Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, Webber recalls going up to a news stand and reading that the Supreme Court had declared the National Labor Relations Act constitutional, and that the Friedman-Harry Marks case was one of the five upon which it had based its decision.

Since the first collective agreement in 1937, relations between management and labor at the plant have been excellent. When the union asked for increased wages shortly after the decision, the matter was submitted by both sides to voluntary arbitration. When the arbitration board granted the increase and the workers planned a big victory banquet, Management asked permission to attend. The representatives of management, who were invited, came to compliment the workers upon their success.

Now, when there is a move afoot to have Webber withdrawn from Virginia, the superintendent of Friedman-Marks sent a telegram to Bishop Oxnam, urging that Webber be continued as Labor chaplain.

For about seven years, in the course of his duties as Executive Field Secretary, Webber travelled all through the United States and made brief trips to Mexico and Europe. During this interval, in 1940, he wrote the memorial that called upon the Methodist Church to take a stand against anti-Semitism. His memorial was adopted at the General Conference in Atlantic City and is now part of the official stand of a church that has over eight million members.

Then, after Bishop McConnell appointed him Field Secretary for the Amalgamated, Webber returned to labor organizing.

In 1943, he came back to Virginia at Potofsky's urging, to assist in unionizing the Jobber's Pants Factory in Martinsville. He called at the workers homes to conduct what he calls "personal evangelism in the field of unionism." He helped prepare leaflets and distributed them at all hours and in all sorts of weather. He addressed the workers meetings and church and Sunday school groups, in the face of threats. In the end the plant was unionized.

He has not always been so successful.

In Smithfield, Virginia, when the NLRB held an election in a ham-packing plant, Webber and some other CIO officials came down to protect the rights of the CIO Negro workers to vote for a union. They found the company had marshalled the town against them.

The employees, Webber charges, were intimidated by the sheriff, who fully armed, walked onto company property during the election and talked to the workers before they voted. CIO lost the election.

At Alta Vista, last Thanksgiving, where the NLRB was to hold an election at the Lane Cedar Works, Webber spoke over the loud speaker to the workers of the plant, spoke to them at church and Sunday school meetings and saw his efforts come to nothing when the election was called off because of unfair company tactics.

These were defeats that Webber had to accept as President of the Virginia State Industrial Union Council, an office to which he was elected by delegates from all over Virginia in the April convention of 1946.

As Director of the State PAC, an office to which he was also elected, he has met other disappointments when he conducted a spirited, though unsuccessful campaign against the re-election of Senator Byrd. Basing his opposition to Byrd upon the grounds that "during his thirteen years in the Senate . . . Senator Byrd has voted against the major progressive social welfare bills" Webber tried to mobilize the union against the Senator. That Byrd won has not seriously dampened Webber's spirits. He is beginning to plan for the next campaign.

Webber's resiliency in defeat and his disregard of personal comfort and risk seems to be a result of his intensely religious attitude toward his work. He is doing more than organize workers so that they can bargain collectively. He is organizing, them, in his words, that they may establish "the Kingdom or Commonwealth of God and man upon the Earth—a commonwealth without man-made depressions and wars."

And it is clear that very little can stop him in his crusade. Webber has known violence and abuse at close hand too long to let them scare him off. He was jailed in Nazareth, Pa., for distributing leaflets in violation of an ordinance. He was jailed in Easton County Prison "for congregating on the sidewalk and blocking traffic" when he marched alone in front of the Kramer Hosiery Mills with a sign reading: "Churches and governments stand for arbitration, why don't you?" He was jailed in Hackensack County Jail, N. J., charged with using "loud and obscene language" when he stood on the steps of the prison and quietly remarked that they couldn't arrest Norman Thomas for inciting a riot during a textile union strike, since they hadn't read the riot act to him.

(Continued on page 15)

## Behind the Headlines

Peter Harisiades says: "I came to this country from Greece as a young boy 31 years ago. My ideas were not yet formed. I worked with my hands in railroads, in shops and factories. I joined unions and helped to organize unions. I participated in strike struggles. I faced, and actually I felt, the club and brutality of the police in different industrial towns and I was thrown into jails. I helped to organize unemployed workers and participated in hunger marches for relief and for unemployment insurance.

This is the way that my ideas were formed, that I began to understand America and to become an American. . . . I joined the Communist Party and continued my membership until 1939, when non-citizens were dropped. . . . The deportation proceedings against me, the Department of Justice says, were initiated in 1930. But it was not until 1946, with the growth of hysteria against the foreign born and not until I had applied for my second papers to become an American citizen, that the Justice Department arrested me and started deportation proceedings. (He has a wife and two American born children.) The charge, as you know, is that I was a member of an organization that advocated "the overthrow of the Government by force and violence." I deny this charge. I never belonged to any such organization. And this charge cannot be proved against me because I never in my life advocated force or violence against the government of the United States . . ."

In the *Socialist Christian* (London) the Rev. W. A. Oyler Waterhouse writes: "We had an interview with the representative of the department of religious affairs in the Leningrad district. . . . We asked him, 'What is your job?' Every day he said he had many visitors, both Church people as well as clergy, with all sorts of needs and difficulties and his job was to help them, getting them fixed up with gas and water and all the usual needs of a war battered city. Getting them permits for telephones and paper and Church supplies, arranging for repairs to their churches and extensions where necessary, supplying building materials. . . . We asked questions about the political activity of Baptists and were told that any church member who wants to become a member of the Communist Party is allowed to do so if the Party accepts him, just the same as in any other country. . . . The State renders great aid in the building of new churches by supplying timber, materials, brick, glass at the State-controlled prices which are one tenth of the prices at the free commercial shops. Cars, wine, petrol, candles, paraffin, etc., are all supplied at the lowest prices. All clergymen have now been liberated from the obligation for military service and monks are exempt from the bachelor tax."

From a letter: "It was only last week that I sat through the Un-American Hearings on the Movies and saw every last vestige of the American Bill of Rights torn to tatters. It is indeed a tragic thing to see Fascism come to America under the guise of patriotism and 'Americanism'. It was interesting to note how Stribling kept using 'Democracy' as a synonym for 'Capitalism'. Don't you know they (the Communists) are trying to destroy our form of government—they are trying to destroy 'Capitalism' throughout the world. And no one challenges their definitions either."

*Life* has started a series of illustrated articles on the history and development of Western culture. The purpose is to recall to Americans the culture to which they are heirs "and which they now have the chance to carry on if they value it enough." The opposite page to this proclamation is devoted to "Old Grand-Dad Kentucky Straight Bourbon Whiskey. One Hundred Proof." The key note of the second article is "out of violence and chaos the Christian mind and spirit created a glowing era when men knew all things were

possible to faith. . . ." Confronting this is an ad for "Sheer . . . Sheer . . . Berkshire for the loveliest things in the world." The same magazine paid for full page ads in 600 U. S. newspapers trying to get more readers for William C. Bullitt's "Report to the American People on China", which it had planned and financed. This report makes concrete the military aid to Chiang Kai Shek advocated last year in an article by President Van Dusen of Union Seminary. It wants all available surplus weapons to go to Chiang at once, and U. S. troops to guard Chiang's land supply lines through war areas. It wants MacArthur to direct operations designed to drive every armed Communist from Chinese soil. Protests by Chinese youth can be stopped "by drafting immediately all those students who are working on the side of the enemy in the present war." They should be put through a course of re-education before being sent to the front." The Kuomintang officers and officials will stop grafting if their pay is quadrupled in American dollars. This will cost us \$1,300,000,000 spread over three years. But there would be returns for somebody for China must "sell to the highest bidders industries now under government ownership." Also she must welcome "foreign capita; in acts as well as words." Recently 130,000,000 rounds of ammunition were shipped to Chiang from Seattle.

H. F. W.

### In Your Paper?

Food prices in France are 12 times above the 1938 level, general prices are 10 times higher. Wages have risen 5½ times in the same period, a dispatch from Paris reports. But diplomats say that Moscow ordered the strikes.

A representative of the Yugoslav tourist office, their London branch reports, wanted to come here to encourage U. S. travel to his country and especially to offer low rates of travel, and at the famed Dalmatian coast resorts, to American can labor unionists. But the State Department said no, you can't get through that iron curtain.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Mass. wants us to "recruit aliens for occupation duty" in Europe. Who said Hessians?

Professor Goodwin Watson of Teachers College, Columbia University, says he found more Catholic voters in Poland voting for the Worker's Party, (Communist) than for any other. The reason? Church lands were not touched in the distribution of large estates. The two groups joined first to resist the Nazis, then finding that practical cooperation was possible, despite philosophical differences, continued to collaborate.

The Greek government refused to allow two socialist leaders of high reputation in Europe to attend the international socialist gathering at Antwerp.

A Soviet economist reports to the Subcommission on Employment and Economic Stability at Lake Success that if we want to wipe out unemployment and maintain a high and stable demand for goods the first thing to do is raise wages and salaries, the next to lower wholesale and retail prices and war against high monopoly price; then to keep high taxes on the upper income brackets and reduce them on the lower.

## In the Field with the Executive Secretary

During the extended trip in the Southwest (Oklahoma, Louisiana, Texas, Nebraska, New Mexico) in May and June, I visited six Annual Conferences, three college campuses, taught in a Pastor's School and gave platform lectures in two youth institutes and one regional student conference. Existing chapters were visited (West Oklahoma, Texas, North Texas, Southwest Texas, Nebraska), three new chapters organized (Louisiana Conference, New Mexico-West Texas Conference, and Austin, Texas, local), and others initiated (at the regional student conference in Norman, Oklahoma). In all of the meetings concrete social action was taken, new members secured, and organizational expansion launched.

In August I paid my first visit to the Kentucky Annual Conference. A splendid new chapter was organized with a fine initial program which was adopted also by the Annual Conference as a whole. The new chapter elected the following as officers for this first year: President, Rev. Jesse Murrell; Vice-President, Rev. David Sageser; Secretary Rev. T. O. Harrison; Treasurer, Prof. A. B. Easterling; Executive Committee, Miss Juliet Poynter.

In September I spent a full week in New Hampshire lecturing in various churches and conferences under the direction of our New Hampshire Conference MFSA chapter President, Dr. J. K. Craig; spoke at our New York City MFSA chapter meeting, preached in one of the pulpits of the New York Conference, participated in the New Haven District MYF Retreat, and addressed a Methodist youth meeting in Baltimore.

During October I preached in another New York Conference church and visited three Annual Conferences, in each of which new members were enlisted and new chapters initiated: Pittsburgh, Holston, and Tennessee (Central). In the latter Conference Bishop Kelley appointed Rev. Julius Johnson to call a chapter-organizing meeting, and promised a delegation to the national meeting. The new Holston Conference chapter took significant social action in the chapter meeting and through the Annual Conference as a whole, and elected the following officers: President, Dr. Haskell M. Miller; Vice-President, Rev. James Pless; Secretary-Treasurer, Rev. Frank Settle. At this writing we hope this splendid new chapter will have a carload of delegates at the national meeting in Kansas City. En route to the Tennessee Conference I met a number of friends in Nashville, at which meeting needed local chapter organization was discussed. In November there were a number of speaking engagements before student, church, WSCS, and inter-denominational youth groups in the general area of the national office. There was also participation in the Ohio Methodist Student Movement Annual Conference in Delaware, Ohio.

In the national office itself this period has been very busy preparing and following up the fall Executive Committee meeting, the monthly Administrative Committee meetings, and above all the centrally important national membership meeting in Kansas City. Our small and over-crowded office has been partitioned to increase office efficiency and give a more tolerable degree of privacy. In this same period we have brought into our staff family two splendid and loyal workers: Esther Koff and Betty Skrefstad. All of us in the national office are wishing for you, our fellow-members, a joyous Christmas and a New Year of increasingly effective cooperation in building together peace and good will among men and on earth.

J. R. M.

Concerning the Marshall Plan, Arthur Krock, New York Times columnist and head of its Washington Bureau, writes: ". . . the program should be fairly presented by the administration as largely a political investment with very doubtful economic values. . . ."

## Federation Activities and Reports

**AN ATLANTA CONFERENCE CHAPTER** of the Federation was formed at the November session of that Annual Conference. Under the leadership of Bishop Robert N. Brooks and Dr. James P. Brawley (President of Clark College), more than twenty-five members made contributions to the Federation totaling \$309 and a tentative chapter was organized. Dr. Brawley was elected chairman and Rev. A. S. Dickerson, secretary. They made plans to meet frequently, actively participate in Federation program, and to increase their membership to at least a hundred members immediately.

**THE CENTRAL KANSAS CHAPTER**, at its fall meeting, elected the following officers: Rev. Glenn Palmer, President; Rev. Basil Johnson, Vice President, and Rev. Charles L. Ruhlen, Secretary-Treasurer.

**THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST CHAPTER** has voted to memorialize General Conference as follows: "In view of the growing concern of the church with industrial relationships as offering a large field for the gospel of reconciliation and the 'subordination of the profit motive to the creative and cooperative spirit'; and believing that the church should make a far greater effort to reach the unreached in industry, whether of labor or management; Therefore be it Resolved that the Pacific Northwest Chapter of the Methodist Federation for Social Action: Memorialize General Conference to amend Paragraph 432, Section 4, of 'The Discipline' in an appropriate place by adding the following words: 'Ministers to industry and or Industrial Chaplains.'" "Be it Resolved that the Pacific Northwest Chapter of the Methodist Federation for Social Action work diligently in its own conference for the creation of a ministry to industry within the bounds of the conference with adequate support by the conference; and that if such a ministry is created by it, to request the bishop to appoint an adequately qualified elder to it."

**AT THE LOUISIANA ANNUAL CONFERENCE**, our MFSA Chapter voted to expand its membership and has appointed one or two leaders for each of the seven districts in Louisiana to recruit lay and clerical members in their districts.

**THE WEST TEXAS CONFERENCE** at its recent annual session voted to take out a chapter membership in the Methodist Federation. This Conference, as well as the Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, Upper Mississippi, Savannah Conference—all under Bishop Brook's jurisdiction—has just contributed over \$100 to the work of the Federation. These gifts arrived at the national headquarters the day after Thanksgiving Day—and did much to fill the hearts of the staff (as well as our creditors) with true gratitude.

**AT THE SOUTHWEST ANNUAL CONFERENCE**, more than 20 people signed up as members. Bishop Kelley appointed W. H. Bass, Jr., to be Chairman of MFSA in that Conference. Rev. Clifford Zirkel, director of the Wesley Foundation at Louisiana State University, represented the Federation there.

**THE CENTRAL ALABAMA CONFERENCE** was visited by Rev. Andrew Turnipseed, president of the Southeastern Jurisdiction Alabama Conference MFSA Chapter. A full report is not yet available, but Bishop Shaw is confident that at least 100 Federation members will have been secured shortly.

"Everything is born small and grows big except trouble, which is born big and grows smaller every day."

—Arab Proverb

# Social Issues in Today's World

## The General Welfare

**THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION** report on fingerprints is revealing. During the period of six months, January to June of 1947, they examined a total of 371,228 fingerprints that were sent in to Washington, and found 86,258 were the result of arrests for drunkenness. This figure is two and one-half times larger than the next greatest number of arrests for any other crime. There were 19,314 fingerprints which were the results of arrests for driving while intoxicated, and 3,678 for violation of local and state (not federal) liquor laws. When the three are added together, we find 109,259 arrests directly connected with liquor. That is about 30 per cent of all fingerprint records submitted during that six months period. (Figures furnished by Dr. Wm. G. Mather, State College, Pa.)

**THE OMAHA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES** has collected data from 66 churches of that city and discovers that one Protestant joins the Roman Catholic church to every 5.5 Catholics joining Protestant churches. The period studied ran from June '46 to June '47. Reports showed that during that time 21 Protestants were converted to Catholicism and 121 Roman Catholics were accepted into Protestant churches. Of the churches reporting only two said they had more losses to Roman Catholicism than gains.

## International Relations

**DESPITE THE WAR** and the normal low birthrate, France's population, according to recent official figures, which covered the period up to March, 1946, decreased between 1936 and 1946 only by 1,389,000. Respective statistics for the two dates were 41,907,000 and 40,519,000. The reduction is proportionately far less than the one which followed World War I. The diminution is even less when it is applied solely to French citizens, who were reduced in number by only 605,000, while the number of foreigners in the country dropped by 783,000.

**SEVERAL GERMAN STATES** have followed the example of Japan in abjuring militarism in their new constitutions. Greater Hesse in the U. S. Zone was the first, declaring that any act tending toward the preparation for war was unconstitutional.

South Baden, in the French Zone, followed. Article Three of its new Constitution says: "No citizen of the State may be obliged to any service of a military character." The article met with resistance during the debate on the Constitution and was thrown out by the vote of the Christian Party, but anti-war groups put on a lively press campaign and finally got the article incorporated.

Now Bavaria, in the U. S. Zone, has joined the other two. Here also the Christian Party at first objected, claiming that patriotism in certain circumstances made it necessary, even a duty, to take up arms in the defense of one's country. But later the Christian Party retired to pass a new resolution, and the following text was at length agreed on:

"Bavaria stands for Peace, Freedom and International Understanding. War has been outlawed by International Law. The Bavarian Diet will stand behind the principles of International Law. No citizen of the State may be obliged to do any military service or participate in military actions."

**"NEITHER THE CHINESE PEOPLE** nor a future coalition government succeeding Chiang Kai-shek will recognize or honor any loans, political or non-political, made to the Nankign regime. This statement was cabled to the United States by Marshal Li Chi-sen, veteran Kuomintang

military leader and long-time associate of the Chinese Generalissimo. The cable, which was prompted by William C. Bullitt's "Report to the American People on China," printed in *Life* magazine on October 13, was sent to Mr. Henry A. Wallace and the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

Marshal Li said that no amount of American aid to Chiang will turn the tide of civil war in his favor. "It will merely prolong the sufferings of the Chinese people and estrange friendly relations between China and America."

Li Chi-sen (also known as Li Chai-sum) was for twenty years a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, China's ruling party. He now lives in Hong-kong where he leads the "Democratic Group within the Kuomintang," which is violently opposed to Chiang's civil war policy.

Terming Mr. Bullitt's article "an endeavor to reduce China to the status of an American colony and anti-Soviet base," Marshal Li said that the proposal was the most outspoken statement of American policy yet published. "The price Mr. Bullitt offered for enslaving the Chinese nation," the Marshal said, "is \$1,350,000,000, which will in turn be used by Chiang Kai-shek to slaughter his own people."

The Marshal commented that Mr. Bullitt and General Wedemeyer see eye to eye as to what should be done in China, but General Wedemeyer's recommendations as expressed in a letter to Mrs. John Gardner Coolidge in Boston are phrased in "more subtle language."

## The Labor Movement

**THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE** announced recently it is interested in having young people who are already working in industry, as well as students, participate in its Interne-in-Industry project, which is being sponsored for the fourth consecutive year in Philadelphia.

This project, one of many which are sponsored by the Committee in the interests of young people, combines work in an industrial plant with study, informal discussions and cooperative group living. The diverse activities of the group are held together by the central purpose of trying to understand the problems of industrial relations and to find human and just solutions to industrial disputes which arise.

Internes in the project find their own jobs in Philadelphia industry, and are paid the prevailing wage. They live cooperatively and contribute \$12 weekly for living expenses. The education program includes speakers representing both labor and management, group discussions, field trips and attendance at union meetings and meetings of the Labor Education Association. The group also plans various recreational activities.

Martin D. White, director of the project, said the Committee is especially anxious to have people who are already working in industry, and who plan to continue that work, to join the project.

"We are aware of the tremendous importance of creating an informed public on the subject of labor relations," Mr. White said. "But the course which industrial relations will follow in the future will be determined by the workers in the labor movement and by management official themselves. Therefore, we are concerned that workers from both these areas have an opportunity to see the industrial problem as a whole. We believe that informed and able leadership on both sides is sorely needed, and we believe that leadership should be based on spiritual values. This is the point which we stress in our Interne-in-Industry project, and we hope that through this effort of ours, and through similar efforts, some leadership may be furnished which will mean harmonious and creative relationships between the people who work and their employers."

Mr. White pointed out that the project is a year-round one and those interested may join at any time. For more information, write Interne-in-Industry, American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

**THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT** will spend \$4 million next year because the sponsors of the Taft-Hartley Act made a mistake. This amount will be needed by the National Labor Relations Board to conduct union shop elections, required in every unionized plant before a union and an employer can enter into a union agreement. This provision was written into the law on the assumption that, given the opportunity, American working men and women would vote against union membership as a condition of employment. These "nuisance elections" are expected to be held in four out of every five unionized plants in the country. About nine million workers will be asked:

"Do you wish to authorize the union named below to enter into an agreement with your employer which requires membership in such union as a condition of employment? Yes or No?"

For every ballot cast in these contests, the NLRB must spend at least 45¢ for the printing of ballots and posters and for all necessary work essential to each of these elections. This cost estimate is admittedly conservative, as it is based on the per ballot average cost of elections conducted by NLRB in past years. Officials of the International Machinists Union, who have had more experience with the Taft-Hartley Act than any other union, believe that the 32 elections conducted so far under the new law provide a fair sampling for the country.

"Because a few employers and most newspapers decided that nobody wanted to belong to trade unions, the Congress chose to believe their story," an I.A.M. spokesman explained. "The result of that mistake is going to cost the American people at least \$4 million next year in addition to the working time in thousands of factories all over the country. The only alternative is to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act."

## Cooperatives

**A MAJOR VICTORY WAS WON** by the Dairyland Power Cooperative in its fight to construct a \$3,200,000 dam on the Flambeau River when the Lake Superior District Power Co. withdrew its opposition to the project and agreed to lease its own dams to the co-op.

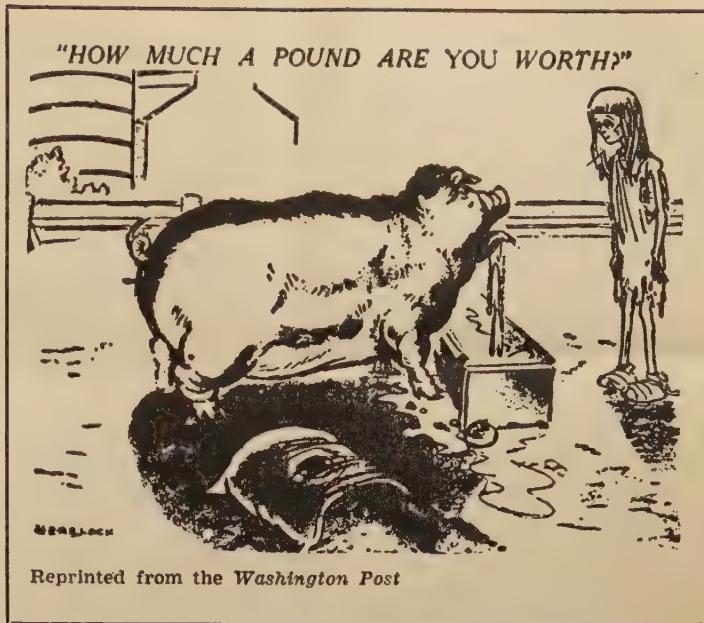
Construction of the dam must still be approved by the Wisconsin Conservation Department to become final, but the department has announced that it will press its objections to the dam at the time of the final hearing before the commission.

**SPOKESMEN FOR TWO CIO UNIONS** suggested last week that the current drive to place heavy taxes on farmers and consumer cooperatives is another round in the big business fight to clear the way for super-profits.

Pres. A. J. Fitzgerald of the CIO Electrical Workers, in a statement filed with the House Ways and Means Committee, charged that the \$60 million tax revenue which might be obtained from the 10,150 co-ops is less than the tax paid by four big food processors—Armour, Swift, Borden and Natl. Dairy Products.

The amount, he said, is a mere drop in the bucket compared to the federal government's estimated \$40 billion revenue for the current year.

**A Newsweek poll of correspondents who cover the U.N. shows that 62 per cent think American policy has hurt that organization.**



Reprinted from the *Washington Post*

What can YOU do to help the Federation in its present financial plight? And what can you do to see that an adequate financial undergirding for the future will keep the Federation's staff free to devote all its energies to "fighting the good fight."

1. Increase your own contribution. Join the \$100-a-year group if possible. Or, make periodic small contributions. An EXTRA dollar or two from *every* member would pay all of our back bills.
2. Make a determined effort to enlist new voting members.
3. Give or get new subscriptions to the **SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN**.
4. Give a small money-raising party.
5. Have your Woman's Society, Men's Club or MYF sponsor a benefit play or supper or cake sale for the MFSA.
6. Urge your church organizations to take out "Organizational Memberships" in the Federation—contributing \$5, \$10 or more and entitling the group to receive the **BULLETIN**.
7. Suggest that one collection a month in the various church societies be taken for the benefit of MFSA. (The Community Service Chairman of the MYF and the Chairman of the Christian Social Relations Division of the WSCS SHOULD be cooperating with the Federation by the very nature of their jobs.)
8. Get your church to make a contribution through its benevolences budget.

And remember, the important thing is to  
DO IT NOW!!!

To help the Federation financially, I enclose \$..... as a personal contribution. I plan to get busy right away on the following other money-raising ideas:

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

Name.....

Address.....

## A Call—to a

### National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East

January 24-25, 1948, New York City

In order

1. To stop U. S. intervention in China and other friendly Far Eastern countries;
2. To carry out the democratic decisions of Potsdam and the Moscow Conference regarding occupation policy in Japan;
3. To bring about a democratic American policy for the whole Far East.

We, the undersigned three National Chairmen, call upon all those who subscribe to these broad objectives to elect delegates and observers to a National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East to be held in New York City on January 24th and 25th, 1948.

The specific tasks of this Conference will be:

1. To bring out information concerning the major issues of American Far Eastern Policy;
2. To bring out the connection between Far Eastern Policy and our domestic well-being;
3. To formulate a practical program of action for stopping the present undemocratic, interventionary and unilateral Far Eastern Policy of our government; and
4. To rally for such a program the widest possible support from all democratic sectors in America.

Americans have always felt a pride in our heritage as a democratic people. Today this pride is being dealt severe blows.

Our government's present Far Eastern Policy violates our own most cherished political beliefs. Through open military, political and financial intervention the U. S. seeks to impose upon the largest nation on earth, China, a backward, corrupt, and violently anti-democratic regime, which the vast majority of the Chinese people themselves repudiate. And on top of this, a cry is now being raised by the most reactionary persons in this country for further intervention in China of so drastic a form as to reduce China to a colony.

Many American and foreign observers alike are concerned that the unilateral U. S. occupation of Japan seems less interested in eradicating the reaction that brought Pearl Harbor than in harnessing it to the dangerous ambitions of an American minority.

The American Government, by giving its energetic support to Filipino collaborationists, and other betrayers of their country's independence, and by imposing upon the Philippines economic conditions inimical to their development as a free nation, has made a mockery of "Philippine Independence."

The courageous struggle of the Indonesian people against their Dutch oppressors has likewise been forsaken by an American government evidently more intent upon safeguarding a reactionary status quo than in encouraging the world-wide fight for freedom and a rising standard of living.

Yes, our pride in the democratic American heritage is receiving hard blows from what our government seeks to do in the Far East. If permitted to continue the American Far Eastern Policy will bring about further and ever more serious international friction. The healthy trans-Pacific trade we could now be enjoying will be further postponed. The present policy is the herald of war, not the harbinger of peace.

For these reasons, we urge all organizations to appoint delegates and observers to the Conference, and we invite individuals to attend as visitors. For these reasons, this

Conference will bring together citizens who wish to secure the facts and understand the issues, and to discuss means of promoting citizenship action on Far Eastern Policy. The Conference will assist delegates and individuals to carry back to their organizations and communities the facts, insights, convictions and suggested methods of action necessary at this time. All decisions of the Conference will come out of floor discussion and we hope will be implemented in whole or in part by each organization in its own way.

Educational Chairmen: T. A. BISSON  
W. E. DUBOIS  
STANLEY M. ISAACS

**Capitalism is in greater danger than ever before, but the imminent threat is from socialism rather than communism.** T. N. Reid, a U.S. delegate to the International Labor Conference, told the Grocery Manufacturers of America.

Thomas J. Hamilton, *New York Times* correspondent at Lake Success, writes: ". . . the United States delegation has had to make it clear to some delegations, as well as to their home governments, that it was determined to have its way, particularly on the issues of establishing a Balkan committee and a 'Little Assembly.' "

#### CONSCRIPTED

HELEN A. THOMAS

God stood the soldiers in a row,  
"You are too young," He said,  
"Too clear of eye, too sound of limb;  
I'll use the old instead.

"The elderly, the middle aged,  
Statesmen and business men,  
They are the ones who make the wars,  
It's fair they fight them then.

"The patriotic women,  
Preachers and folks who pray  
And beg the Lord their Maker  
To help things go their way.

"Especially the writers  
Who say when wars are rife  
That all the prophets of goodwill  
Deny the facts of life.

"They all must leave their easy chairs,  
Their golf sticks and their gold.  
They'll not wear snappy uniforms,  
Just working clothes and old.

"They'll have hollow canes and fountain pens,  
Vials made of glass,  
To carry germs and poisons  
And lots of deadly gas.

"The bold young men will fly them  
To their posts in heat and cold  
And rain and mud, and urge them  
To be brave although they're old.

"I cannot spare the young folks,  
I have work for them to do.  
If older people still want wars,  
Then they must fight them too."

# U. S.—U.S.S.R. Relations

Sixteen leading clergymen recently issued a statement calling on all Christians to join them in a great spiritual crusade to put American-Soviet relations on a foundation on which a world of lasting peace can be built.

The church leaders, seven of whom visited Europe during the past summer, are members of the Inter-Church Committee of the American Russian Institute, 58 Park Avenue, New York City. Dr. Ralph W. Sockman of Christ Church (Methodist), New York City, is chairman of the Committee.

"The issue of American-Soviet relations," the Committee said, "has become the supreme moral test for the Christians of America. . . . It is the duty of every Christian to mobilize all resources of religion and all moral forces toward the establishment of better relations with the Soviet Union." The churchmen stated that they "hope to bring reason where hysteria prevails, understanding where there is confusion, faith where there is despair. Our Committee stands ready to help any individual or group seeking an answer to the perplexing problems of American-Soviet relations."

Other signers of the statement were: Bishop Charles K. Gilbert, Diocese of New York, Protestant Episcopal Church; Dr. Louie D. Newton, President, Southern Baptist Convention, Atlanta, Ga.; Dr. John R. Mott, Honorary President, World Alliance of YMCA; Dr. Stanley I. Stuber, Northern Baptist Convention, New York; Dr. Albert Buckner Coe, Congregational Christian Committee for War Victims and Reconstruction, Oak Park, Ill.; Dr. William E. Lampe, Secretary, Evangelical and Reformed Church, Philadelphia; Mrs. Ruth Mougey Worrell, Executive Secretary, United Council of Church Women, New York; Dr. Samuel Trexler, Lutheran, New York; the Reverend William J. Arms, Universalist, Peoria, Ill.; Mrs. Leslie E. Swain, President, Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, New York; Dr. Harry N. Holmes, World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, New York; Dr. Gaither P. Warfield, Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief, New York; Dr. Robert W. Searle, Protestant Council of the City of New York; Dr. Beverley M. Boyd, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, New York; the Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman, Unitarian, Jamaica Plain, Mass.

Following is the full text of the statement issued:

"The issue of American-Soviet relations has become the supreme moral test for the Christians of America. The shocking amount of suspicion, hatred and hysteria which has arisen between the United States and the Soviet Union has disturbed and stunned the thinking people of our denominations. We realize that now as never before the voice of Faith must speak up in notes of clearness and force.

"We maintain that war is not inevitable. Despite wide differences of opinion, attitudes, habits and philosophies between the cultures of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., peaceful co-operation between the two countries is possible.

"The peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union want peace. The governments of the United States and the Soviet Union have officially voiced their desires for peace and their abhorrence of war. The participation of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. as leading and vital powers in the United Nations is an accepted fact by the peoples of the world and their governments. We must recognize that the United Nations is our only present instrument for implementing the desires of the nations to live together in peace. Criticism of the present organization of the United Nations should not destroy the faith and hope which the peoples of the world have placed in it. Let us do our part to increase the prestige and power of this international organization.

"It is the duty of every Christian to mobilize all resources of religion and all moral forces toward the establishment of better relations with the Soviet Union. Our Christian Gospel teaches not distrust but faith, not suspicion but understanding, not war but peace. Unless the Christian Church points

the way to peaceful living together on this earth, the coming of peace will be delayed. We must lift a united voice against the madness of splitting the world into two armed camps. We caution everyone against the manoeuvres of those who would divide the peoples of the world against each other, creating chaos, sowing fear and distrust among those who are war-weary and peace-loving.

"This is a time for decision and action. Every thought, word and deed on this subject either widens the gap between the East and West or helps to bridge it for friendly co-operation and a peaceful solution to the problem. To contribute to the division of the world into two armed forces is to lead the world to conflict; to help bridge the gap will point toward permanent peace.

"Through a program of information concerning American-Soviet relations, we of the Inter-Church Committee of the American Russian Institute hope to help bring reason where hysteria prevails, understanding where there is confusion, faith where there is despair. Our Committee stands ready to help any individual or group seeking an answer to the perplexing problems of American-Soviet relations.

"We call on all Christians to join us in a great spiritual crusade to put American-Soviet relations on a foundation on which we can build a world of lasting peace."

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The Archbishop of York, just returned from a visit to the Soviet Union, says: "I came away more convinced than ever that we in this country ought to take no part in, nor give any support to, those appeals which are sometimes made to us from the other side of the Atlantic by lining up against Russia and against communism."

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The inter-Church Committee of the American Russian Institute headed by Dr. Ralph W. Sockman calls on "all Christians to join us in a great spiritual crusade to put American-Soviet relations on a foundation on which we can build a world of lasting peace." It declares: "The issue of American-Soviet relations has become the supreme moral test for the Christians of America. . . . Our Christian Gospel teaches not distrust but faith, not suspicion but understanding, not war but peace."

## "INSIDE THE CATHOLIC CHURCH"

Item: Catholics are not permitted to eat their young. In fact, on Fridays they are forbidden to do so.

Item: Nuns haven't put ground glass in their shoes since 1930, when some of the glass was discovered to have come from Schenley bottles. Since then double-edged razor blades have been prescribed instead.

Item: It is not true that the Catholic Church wants to commandeer all public school buses to convert them to mobile Bingo halls. I honestly do not know what we want them for.

Item: Catholics do not adore statues nor take their pastors with them on honeymoons, nor are they awaiting the Second Coming of Al Smith.

But, dammit, what they are awaiting is one—just one—intelligent objection to the Church on the doctrinal level.

—(Letter from an irate Roman Catholic to *The American Mercury*.)

## Man Bites Dog

When a National Association of Manufacturers' publication (Program Notes—for women's clubs, October-November, 1947) heads an article "Let's Climb Off the Broomstick," claiming that the poor NAM is the victim of witch-hunting, that's NEWS!

The NAM is being victimized, it develops, because of its million dollar advertising campaign to break OPA last fall with the theme song:

"If OPA is permanently discontinued, the production of goods will mount rapidly and, through free competition, prices will quickly adjust themselves to levels that consumers are willing to pay." NAM, New York Times Ad, 7/3/46.

It seems there has been disrespectful sneering at NAM's predictions. After all, the author says, NAM's predictions that production would go up were correct. Now on prices, well, that's a little more complicated. Here is a list of reasons dreamed up to explain why prices didn't exactly do what the NAM told us they would:

### 1. Strikes in 1946 with a loss of 116 man-days.

(These strikes were under OPA and of course entirely off the point of what happened after OPA was permanently discontinued—but it is put in for the general confusion of the women's club program directors. It creates the right feeling especially if the program director isn't too bright.)

### 2. Rupture of the Little Steel Formula and OPA price increases of 26% up to November 9. (One gathers that industry was an unwilling victim of these price increases.)

(This little gem, which also antedated the NAM Ad, is put in to confuse still further, but gives the program director a second whipping boy.)

### 3. A second round of wage rises in 1947.

### 4. Heavy Government purchasing of foodstuffs made in such a way as to stimulate speculation. (Can't you see the grain speculator forced by the Government against his better nature to keep bidding prices up?)

### 5. Our old friend—the short corn crop.

After this miscellany of reasons it turns out that these aren't the compelling reasons after all. "The nub of the situation," the article finally breaks down and tells us, is that so very many people are working and purchasing power is so very high that prices just can't be kept down. After boasting in an earlier paragraph that one NAM prediction came true—that tremendously increased production would result from removal of controls—it now appears that "the only way to get prices down is to get production up."

Let's just by-pass points 1 and 2, which are obviously rung in to provide a little gratis anti-labor, anti-OPA propaganda for the ladies. What are the facts on points 3, 4 and 5. Were wage increases chiefly responsible for high prices? Of course not. Wage rises in 1947 amounted to less than 15% (Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach). Yet wholesale prices rose 40% (President Truman's report to Congress Nov. 17). In the meatpacking industry, a price increase of 2.6% would have covered all additional labor costs—yet wholesale meat prices rose 98%! (United Packinghouse Workers of America testimony.)

**Point 4:** Heavy foodstuff buying by Government: Prices of meat rose most spectacularly—but meat export was only 2.2% of total production in 1946-47, an insignificant amount. (Joint Committee on Economic Report—staff report.) For all products, exports were only 3.7% of total U. S. production. During the war the U. S. exported over 7% of production, but prices were kept down. Maybe the NAM was wrong and we should not have lifted controls so fast?

**Point 5:** The short corn crop is a slim reed for the NAM to lean on. If every time a crop fails, the whole economy must hit an inflationary crisis, it's clear there's something more profoundly wrong than Mother Nature. Actually the short corn crop will affect prices of meat next spring, when the animals fed on high priced corn come to market. The expected shortage next spring is being used as an excuse for gouging and profiteering now and we will keep on hearing it as an excuse for every increase yet to come.

Apparently the author of the NAM article doesn't really think much of any of these reasons herself, so let's get down to the "nub of the situation" which concludes her article but has nothing to do with what went before. It seems that we have more production but what we really need is more production. Oddly enough, the lady has hit the nail on the head.

Production has gone up—but only enough to *maintain the present price level*. In competitive industry when demand drops, prices go down. But in highly monopolized industry, when demand drops, supply is artificially curtailed and prices kept high, and who should know this better than the NAM? It's not something they tell the ladies, but "Business Week" (August 2, 1947) says: "When demand fell off, producers used to mark down prices in an effort to stimulate sales. Today output is cut to support prices."

When demand for shoes fell early this year, the manufacturers closed down the plants and *raised* the prices until demand caught up with supply. Similarly steel is refusing to expand its plants to meet the needs of our economy. Why should it when profits at these outrageous steel prices are considerably more than double the wartime profits?

Productions did go up, as the NAM predicted, but only 5% above June 1946. In July 1947 production was actually 25% below the wartime peak of 1943—but it was a wonderful year for profits, almost double the banner year profits of 1946.

## Movie of the Month

"Gentleman's Agreement." Produced by Darryl F. Zanuck. Starring Gregory Peck, Dorothy McGuire, and John Garfield. Seen at Mayfair Theatre, New York.

"Gentleman's Agreement," adapted from Laura Z. Hobson's talky novel on upper-class anti-semitism, has been made into a talky, but subtle and reasonably powerful indictment of "polite" anti-semitism. A comparison with Dore Schary's "Crossfire" is inevitable; "Gentleman's Agreement" duels with a rapier, while "Crossfire" is as direct as a slap in the face. There is no mystery in the Zanuck production, but there is more intelligence. Dialogue good, performances (especially John Garfield's as an army officer of Jewish descent) well above average.

A newspaper in Turkey complains that "the American aid is not the ring of gold, but a chain of bondage. . . . We are now taking leave of our independence." Communist papers are not allowed in that country.

Four Soviet scientists recently criticized Einstein for his support of a "universal government." They praised him as a "public figure striving with the weapons at hand to fight the battle for peace" but said that world government under present conditions would mean a "world hegemony of capitalist monopolies."

The National Catholic Rural Life Conference recently adopted a resolution asking for measure "to discourage ever-increasing large landholdings and to provide opportunity for genuine family farm operations."

## The Federation Mailbag

### FOR TEMPERANCE AND TOLERANCE

Wappingers Falls, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Your choice of "Crossfire" as the "Movie of the Month" in the October issue of SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN is a happy selection. The manager of our local theater is of the Jewish faith. He secured this picture and showed it here, and personally phoned all local clergymen, inviting them to attend as his guests. Kindly please find enclosed twenty-five cents, for which please send me one extra copy of this October 1947 issue of the BULLETIN.

Rev. Eugene L. Smith's article, "Toward a Real Advance in Temperance," in the same issue of the BULLETIN, is superb. Any chance of obtaining reprints of this article? There is only one statement in this article with which I would sadly take issue: "Methodism is on the march against the evils of alcohol." (Page 98b.) Instead, it seems to me that we are missing a golden opportunity to get across to people the fearfulness of the liquor problem. Right now, while the food shortage in Europe is in the news, and wastage is being attacked by the Administration, and prices on commodities are high, we should be dramatizing on a nation-wide scale the part that the liquor industry is playing in each of these situations. Let us hope that the Temperance Advance Movement will soon swing into high gear on a wide front.

Sincerely yours,  
Eugene L. Crabb

### UNAFRAID OF BUGABOOS

Everett, Wash.

Dear Sir:

It is seldom that one finds a publication which stands 100 per cent for the betterment of all mankind, which is tempered with good judgment and yet is unafraid of conventional bugaboos. We think the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN a splendid approach to most current world and U. S. problems. Our prayers and our zeal are with you in your splendid work.

Sincerely,  
Herbert K. Palmer

### CHECK ENCLOSED

Great Falls, Montana

Dear Sir:

Herewith enclosed is my check for \$2.00 for which kindly send me a year's subscription to SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN. The few copies I have seen indicate that you are doing a very worthwhile job.

Sincerely,  
Leonard Kenfield, Editor  
Montana Farmers Union News

### WHY A "SAC"?

Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Jack:

We are asking the Service Department to ship 100 copies of pamphlet No. 447-B, "Why a Social Action Committee?"

If you print a statement in the BULLETIN regarding the pamphlet, I would suggest that you advise people to order the pamphlet from either this department or the Women's Literature Headquarters at 420 Plum Street.

The imprint in the BULLETIN states explicitly that the material is to be ordered from those two headquarters. Since those two agencies are the ones that financed the printing they should be responsible for the distribution. I think it would be advisable for you to describe the pamphlet in the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN.

Sincerely,  
Doris Dennison  
Dept. of Christian Education of Adults

Ed. Note—The pamphlet is an excellent argument for the establishment of Social Action Committees in the local church.

### DULLES, NIEMOLLER—AND WARD

Great Neck, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

From my reading I agree thoroughly with your conclusions about Dulles and Niemoller in the October issue. Besides, you give facts to support your opinions.

I liked Dr. Ward's article, too, especially that part about the "common need, responsibility and opportunity . . . of the progressive sections of the religious and labor world in preventing the catastrophe of war instigated by reactionary, imperialistic interests."

Yours very truly,  
L. A. Eldredge, Jr., M.D.

### Hatchet Man

(Continued from page 7)

And threats and insults don't seem to do much good. During the thirties, when he, Arthur Garfield Hays and Dudley Field Malone went to Kentucky for the American Civil Liberties Union, in order to arrange free-speech meetings for the miners, they were threatened with castration if they entered Bell and Harlan counties, the scene of trouble. A representative of the American Legion twisted his ear in a hotel lobby and said, "Get out of here you damn Methodist preacher you." An attempt was made to smuggle women into the room that he was sharing with Ernest Sutherland Bates, the noted author, so that they could be framed.

In Virginia, the incidents attending his trips to Smithfield and Alta Vista are much the same as the incidents that have accompanied all his unionizing efforts. These range from slander by local politicians and the denial of his right to speak in a Smithfield Methodist Sunday school, to threats of a beating from a Smithfield gang and a command, in Alta Vista, to leave town now, or leave it in a coffin.

The Reverend Webber plans to settle in Richmond. As soon as he can get a place, his wife, who, at present is in Florida, will join him. Their daughter, Eleanor, is away to school at the University of California, Los Angeles, where she is a research worker in the Labor Institute.

Once the elections are over, his office plans to go ahead with its unionizing drive. "I am going back to Smithfield," Webber said and then smiled and muttered something about sounding like General Douglas MacArthur. "And I am going back to Alta Vista, too."

When the House of Representatives had before it the request to cite ten Hollywood notables for contempt of the Un-American committee Rankin read off what he called their "real names." They are "Jewish names" he cried. When some Germans who had resisted Nazi policies were arrested as "Jews" Goebbel was asked, "What is a Jew?" Said that evil genious, "A Jew is anybody that I call a Jew."

In Economic Control of the Motion Picture Industry published a few years ago by the University of Pennsylvania Press the list of the Boards of Directors reads like a Wall Street Who's Who. Does this have anything to do with the difference between Eric Johnson's statement to the Un-American Committee and the action of the executives which brings back the days when big employers in open shop plants indirectly threatened to fire, and sometimes did fire, those who voted against the Republican ticket?

The United States lost out in the Trusteeship Committee of the General Assembly when it opposed a resolution calling on the colonial powers to submit information to the U.N. that will permit comparison of conditions in the colonies with conditions in the stepmother countries. Our delegate Francis Sayre argued that relations with one's colonies are a "Domestic" affair under the U.N. charter. It was Puerto Rico where it touched us.

## Books and Pamphlets

"140 Million Patients," by Carl Malmberg. Reynal & Hitchcock, New York.

We've come a long way since the days of tribal witch doctors. We've come a long way, but perhaps not as far as we think. If you listen closely to your favorite announcer some evening, while he extols the superior virtues of his sponsor's particular brand of bowel dynamite, you may not hear the soft beat of drums or weird voodoo incantations in the background, but you may be reminded of the medicine show barker and his miraculous Indian snake oil of the not too forgotten past. The attitude of the average layman towards the art of healing is still largely beclouded by superstition and ignorance—an ignorance which is highly profitable for the patent medicine hucksters. Less than 30 per cent of the drugs used in the United States are dispensed on physicians' prescriptions. Of the approximately \$1,000,000,000 spent each year in the United States for drugs, medicines, and medical supplies, Mr. Malmberg points out, at least one-half, or \$500,000,000 is wasted. Many of the products purchased are not only useless but actually harmful. The chief users of patent medicines are the people to whom good medical advice and care are not available. The quack doctor is still with us, but he has been largely superseded by the quack remedies that line the shelves of the average well-stocked corner drug store—along with bubble gum, fishing tackle and girdles. "140 Million Patients" begins by exploding the myth that "Americans are the healthiest people in the world." Some Americans are among the healthiest people in the world, but not all. For illness and poverty go hand in hand, and the poor who need the most medical care actually get the least. There is, of course, a certain amount of free medical care but it is neither adequate nor always available. In many rural communities there is a serious shortage of physicians. In 1944, Mr. Malmberg says, there were 634 counties (one-fifth of all the counties of the country) where there was either no practicing physician at all, or less than one physician for every 3,000 inhabitants. Negroes are victims of discrimination in sickness as well as in health. Many Southern doctors refuse to treat colored Americans and they are left dependent for sympathetic and decent treatment upon the few widely scattered Negro doctors and the few existing Negro hospitals.

Much of the nation's hospital care is of low grade. Many hospitals are vermin-infested, dilapidated old firetraps which actually constitute a menace to their communities. Epidemics frequently break out which are attributed in official statements to vague or mysterious causes, but which are recognized by competent authorities as due primarily to poor facilities and management. Improper diagnosis, poison by prescription, unskillful or unnecessary operations and poorly managed administration of anesthetics contribute to the toll of death and disease.

"140 Million Patients" is not a book for ostriches. It doesn't paint a pretty picture. But if you want to know the cold hard facts about health and medical care in America (and as one of the 140 million patients you should), then Mr. Malmberg's book is an excellent prescription for you. What can we do about it? Mr. Malmberg answers that question too. The American Medical Association won't like his answer. The drug and patent-medicine industry and the commercial health insurance companies won't like it either. Others too may raise the wolf cry "Socialized Medicine"! But for the millions of patients who are separated from adequate medical attention by the barrier "ability to pay" a compulsory health insurance program must seem the minimum requirement for a healthier America.

P. H. S.

"All About Us." Story by Eva Knox Evans. Illustrations by Vana Earle. Published by Capitol Publishing Company. Price \$2.00.

The frontispiece of this exceptional storybook for children is a beautiful illustration with the words—in big black letters—underneath: "People Are Important." And through the 92 exciting pages of this wonderful little book, that is the message that shines through.

I liked the dedication: "To Boris, a rather new American, because I am so glad he came." "All About Us" is the story of people: their beginning, their wanderings over the earth,

and the changes in their skin color, customs, and language that resulted from separation and different environment. It is filled with scientific facts, but they are told with humor and simplicity.

For what age group? I should say from the age when the little ones begin asking "Why?" to the age of the parents who must think up the answers. The hour I spent reading this charming little tale proved most profitable. I found lots of information and unique ideas to help "small fry" understand how lucky we are to be living in a world where we can meet, play with and work with all sorts of interesting folk who look, think, and act differently from us. I tested this book on my 12-year-old brother. He chuckled happily throughout it—only stumbling over the two "hard" words in the book—"melanin" and "carotene," used to explain what makes the different colors in our skin.

"All About Us" would make a wonderful addition to any child's library. You can borrow a copy from the Gertrude Ratliff Memorial Library by writing to the Federation's headquarters at 150 Fifth Avenue, New York. J.B.

## The Offensive Against Freedom

(Continued from page 2)

to secure the abolition of the Un-American committee. Reform of procedures will not remove its basic threat to civil and human rights. The axe needs to be laid to the root of the tree. If the Supreme Court merely orders just procedures and does not deny the right of the committee to exist the road will still be open for fascism to come to power legally in this country, as the Nazis did in Germany.

Whatever the Court does on this matter the road for the advance of democracy will not be open until the people drive from power the dark and evil forces that are behind the Un-American committee, the loyalty tests, and the policies that lead to poverty and war. This requires a new political movement as did the other great crisis in our history when the pro-slavery forces tried to extend their power. There is only one other way, beside civil war, for the people to escape the bondage threatened by the expansion of monopoly power, and that is a political movement that will set them on the road to economic democracy.

CONGRESSMAN DRIPP

BY YOMEN



"Dreamed Up Any Reasons Why Pay Rises Hurt Workers?"